241 with mixed plants are also maintained, but these gardens may be miles away from their owners' houses and on outer Nilgiri slopes. Because
423 land is divided equally among sons upon a father's death, extensive
428 land fragmentation has taken place. To prevent further fragmentation, there is now a tendency for sons to share and jointly manage land.
311 Communal pastures are close enough to permit the keeping of livestock
361 in communities. Individually owned and communal plots covered with
245 acacia, eucalyptus, and temperate fruit trees now occur near Badaga
137 communities. Due to intensive or slowly continued temperate forest
318 clearance, only a few small remnant patches of natural fore main on the slopes near many hamlets and villages.

The outstanding features of Badaga hamlets and villages are the
361 house-rows with compacted earth courtyards edged by low walls (Figure
351 17). House rows within a single community usually parallel each other and are frequently aligned in an easterly-westerly direction, but on
861 flatter terrain they may surround a courtyard on two sides. Because
•364 the Badagas consider it sinful to throw waste water toward the sun,
783 Lord Shiva's emblem, through alignment of houses in an easterly-westerly direction housewives may throw waste water through the back door or over the front courtyard wall without throwing it toward the sun.
841 One dwelling within a community house-row is set apart as a confinement place for menstruating women or women undergoing a postnatal pollution
368 period. In addition to dwellings, house-like temples are built into
243 house-rows. Grain is threshed and agricultural produce or firewood is
313 dried on the courtyards. These also serve as playgrounds for children,
857 as sites for performance of ceremonial rites, and as dance arenas
796
535

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 1231

ridges constructed in the same plots are planted with broad beans (Vicia faba L.) or peas. Kitchen gardens are typically better manured and cared for. Because they are nearer to community cattle-pens and livestock huts, more manure is likely to be placed on them. Due to the absence of toilets in houses, community dwellers naturally defecate more frequently on nearby plots. And lastly, women recurrently spread kitchen ashes or trash over kitchen gardens. When family members have time to spare, they may easily care for kitchen garden plots near the communities in which they live. Women work on them between their household duties, and men who are regularly employed work on them during off duty hours.

Shifting agriculture. In 1800 the Badagas were practicing shifting slash-burn (kottukadu) agriculture (Buchanan 1870, 1: 462). As later writers described Badaga hamlets and villages in terms of permanence, it is conjectured that Badagas then dwelt in permanent communities and cultivated different plots on the nearby countryside from year to year. From the time Englishmen started to administer the Nilgiris until the late 1800s, the bhurty revenue system existed over the upper Nilgiris. Under this system a farmer could hold up to ten times the taxed land he actually cultivated in any single year. Therefore, a man who paid taxes on five acres could hold nine other five-acre plots scattered over the upper Nilgiris. Plot alternation accompanied by the necessary clearance of vegetation off fallowed land not cultivated for years, or off newly claimed forest land, formed a system of shifting agriculture. Another system was followed in the western Kundahs, which